THE New Republic

THE CLIENTS OF NIXON'S MANAGER

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By SELIG S. HARRISON

Strange Stillness over Spain

By LOUIS FISCHER

Mencken: Comedian Playing Hamlet

By IRVING HOWE

and essays by

JAMES FARRELL, DELMORE SCHWARTZ

MAY 21, 1956

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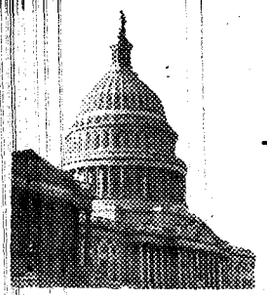

Washington Wire

So little time

HOW MUCH of a part-time President is Dwight D. Eisenhower? We keep coming back to that question. It worries us more than any other single thing in Washington. "The President's chief advisers have left him, at best, incompletely informed," writes former Air Force official Trevor Gardner in *Look* magazine, dealing with the arms controversy. In the Dixon-Yates battle the President revealed at press conferences a lack of familiarity with what was going on. Ambassador Charles Bohlen came here recently from Moscow for two weeks to discuss the Soviet "new look"; the President saw him personally only 20 minutes. Richard Rovere in his new book *The Eisenhower Years* concludes that "most of the time the whole operational side of government has bored him [Eisenhower]." And now Harry Cain, Eisenhower appointee to the Subversive Activities Control Board, in an almost pathetic plea to get the President's attention charges in a public speech that "the President has no real knowledge about how the individual is being treated."

We told you last week about Cain's appeal for political scientist "X," now identified as Air Force statistician Hatkin, who was suspended 14 months as a security risk, without pay, although he had spurned Soviet Embassy official Mikheev's advances. (We hope *Time* and *Newsweek* catch up with the story this week!) Cain's appeal, we are glad to say, has now got Hatkin's job back. But the real story is not about Hatkin, poignant though that is, but of the Eisenhower reaction. It was hard not to feel, after listening to Ike being questioned about the Hatkin case at his press conference last week, that he hates these details. "I haven't seen the Senator's [*i.e.*, Cain's] speech," he said, "and if he thinks that is important, why I suppose I could even arrange that."

There are really two Eisenhowers. Speaking inspirationally at the GOP rally here April 17, the President extolled the supreme importance of "individual citizens": "We reject any attempt to treat them merely . . . as serial numbers in the files of a government office." Grand! That is the kind of sentiment, welling from the heart, for which we applaud Eisenhower. But then turn to his press conference comment on the Hatkin case; it is the field of the Attorney General, he said, and he added that only periodically do "they bring before me what has been going on, usually not in terms of names, *but in terms of numbers. . . .*"

Well, that makes it all a little confusing. At the Press Conference, as we say, the President said he hadn't seen the Cain speech. How about the Bricker rider to cut funds for the ILO unless the Soviet is ousted—? "That is something that hasn't been called to my attention." Should former President Truman be given some sort of official status on his goodwill tour of Europe? "That is the first time I ever heard of it." Another question dealt with Pentagon advices that Saudi Arabia bars American Jews from the US air base there. "Now I have never heard this, that American Jews cannot get into our air bases," the President replied. In fairness it should be added that Eisenhower elaborated the final reply, though in inconclusive terms.

Fund-raising for Bender

OHIO NEWSPAPERS don't know it yet but Treasury Secretary George Humphrey has intervened actively in the nip-and-tuck Bender-Lausche Senatorial race. A copy of his signed letter has gone to nearly every millionaire in Ohio, urging funds for Bender. Pro-Taft Gov. Frank Lausche (D), seeking the Bender seat, is so conservative that he appeals to many Ohio industrialists more than does lightweight Bender. This has alarmed the Ohio GOP. Humphrey takes frank notice of the crisis in a letter prepared for private circulation, addressed to J. C. Shouvlin, chairman of the state Senatorial Finance Committee. We guess Ohio reporters can get the letter with a little exertion and herewith give a sample:

> In Ohio, it is particularly necessary that the Senate seat [Bender's] be retained. No matter what personal friendships may be and regardless of personalities, it is of the utmost importance for every voter who wants success for Eisenhower to vote to return a Republican to the Senate from Ohio. . . . Statements that [Eisenhower's] program will be supported by the vote of a candidate of the opposite Party in no way will change the . . . importance of committee majorities and chairmen.

Schoolmaster Chotiner

ALL OF A sudden the GOP doesn't lov Murray Chotiner any more. He pilote Nixon's successful 1952 campaign an since then it appears that his law pra tice has boomed. He even sued th White House in behalf of government contract-seeking clients, some of whon were not very savory. These revelation about Chotiner have suddenly cooled th Republican's ardor. But back only i September, Chotiner was a feature speaker before the hush-hush GOP Na tional Committee's "campaign school" here. It had been supposed that n record was left of Chotiner's contribu tions, but fortunately it now appear that a transcript remains of his imperish able remarks. There are a lot of tricks t win elections, Nixon pal Chotiner ex plained, like calling opposition argu ments "smears," always answering dan gerous attacks by counter-attacks, an little gimmicks like saying "I have beer told I mustn't talk about this subject" and talking about it. "You will b amazed," Chotiner told his audience, a how successful "Dick Nixon" was with this latter device. He used it, Chotiner told them, to bring up the subject of "Communism" in his 1950 Senatorial campaign. The first step of all in winning elections, Chotiner went on, is to tear down your opponents. Otherwise, he said "the odds are you are going to be doomed to defeat."

Did Chotiner use "influence" in making White House telephone calls for clients? Well, we have a long memory and here is what moralist Senator Nixon himself said, denouncing Democratic national official William Boyle in a parallel telephone case: "The fact that the call comes from you . . . that the introduction is made [from the Democratic National Committee] in itself . . . constitutes influence." Next witness.

T.R.B.

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Mr. Chotiner's Clients

IN APPEARING before a Senate investigating committee Mr. Nixon's campaign manager, Murray Chotiner, took refuge in his own form of the Fifth Amendment. He claimed, as an attorney, the privileges of the lawyer-client relationship and so refused to discuss the details of his relationship with the East Coast criminals who hired him to represent them in Washington.

The lawyer-client privilege permits confidential discussion between the two men. It is not intended to cover up all the activities a criminal attorney may engage in. And Chotiner evidently claimed the privilege where it did not apply. In particular, he used it to refuse to testify concerning his relations with Abe Parzow, reputedly a payoff man for gangsters and the individual they used to get in touch with Chotiner. Parzow did *not* employ Chotiner, never paid him, and Robert Kennedy, the Senate committee counsel, maintained that Parzow was not Chotiner's client. But Chotiner insisted that the payoff man was his client, because, said Chotiner, Parzow had a financial stake in a case in which Chotiner represented an unnamed Philadelphia client.

The Senate committee now feels that Chotiner misled them. For the unnamed Chotiner client in Philadelphia turns out to be Jules de Haan, a Buick dealer under indictment for evading federal income taxes in the amount of $238,000. Clark Mollenhoff of the Cowles Publications uncovered the story. From Myron Jacoby, de Haan's attorney at the time that Chotiner was retained to go to work in Washington on behalf of de Haan, Mollenhoff drew this statement: "Parzow had absolutely no connection with the case."

This journal has inquired further into another of Chotiner's clients, Marco Reginelli. In the years in which he rose from a rank-and-file member of the Mafia to overlord of the racketeers of South Jersey and Philadelphia, Reginelli was indicted 16 times, convicted six times and three times sent to jail. One jail sentence involved his conviction under the Mann Act in 1942 for transporting a 20-year-old girl, Mrs. Louise Abate, to Florida "to engage in an immoral practice, to wit the practice of illicit sexual intercourse with him."

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 makes deportable an alien "who at any time after entry is convicted of two crimes involving moral turpitude." Accordingly, deportation moves were initiated against Reginelli by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. One crime committed by Reginelli, in cheating a man out of $1,800, was in a category commonly held to involve moral turpitude. The question before the Board of Immigration Appeals when it heard the Reginelli case in February, 1954, was whether violation of the Mann Act would constitute for Reginelli the second, decisive crime. A special inquiry officer and four

Correspondence

► *The Career of Jim Crow*

SIRS:

In an attempt to show that the "Southern way of life is a relatively recent arrival," Paul Mayhew (*NR*, May 7) refers to C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Woodward, however, is in error.

Jim Crow customs and laws are older than the Republic. The Negro in the South as far back as the 17th century was plagued by Jim Crowism. During the Reconstruction period, federal troops were in the South. Yet their presence could not prevent the immediate rise of anti-Negro violence. For example, in 1866, the first of many secret orders—the Ku Klux Klan—arose in the South. "Black codes" were quickly restored in 1865 throughout the South, sometimes with the approval of the military gover-

(Continued on page 23)

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Philadelphia attorneys sided with Reginelli. The Immigration and Naturalization Service pleaded for his deportation, arguing that the statute defined a violation of the Mann Act as "immoral," therefore requiring a finding of "moral turpitude" in the case of every conviction.

Soon after the hearings ended, Chotiner, who had never before handled a deportation case, visited an official on the Immigration and Naturalization Service Board of Appeals, whose name he could not remember, on behalf of Reginelli. (The Board itself informed *The New Republic* that it has no record of any visit from Chotiner and cannot find out to whom he talked.) On December 14, 1956, the Board handed down its decision. Reginelli, it declared, had not transported Mrs. Abate to Florida in order to hire her out as a prostitute. Therefore the Board concluded, arguing against the interpretation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, that moral turpitude was not involved. Thus freed, Reginelli further expanded his numbers empire and proceeded to obtain US citizenship status through a friendly Atlantic City judge.

There is no evidence as yet that the Board acted improperly or that Nixon was familiar with his political manager's many-sided activities. But Nixon surely knew, when he hired Chotiner as his manager and personal attorney, that he had represented 200 gamblers and bookmakers in Los Angeles courts alone. And Chotiner knew, when he was hired by Herman Kravitz (the clothing man under investigation on charges of bribing government officials to obtain government contracts), and by Reginelli, de Haan and other East Coast criminals, that it was his influence in the Eisenhower Administration, and specifically his close relationship with the Vice President that commanded his high fees.

Deputy Attorney-General William Rogers handed over Justice Department files to the Senate subcommittee when Joseph McCarthy was its chairman. But Mr. Rogers is Richard Nixon's closest adviser in Washington. Understandably, he is not co-operating in the same way with the present investigating subcommittee chairman, John McClellan. However, the discrepancies that are appearing in Chotiner's testimony make it certain that he and his clients will again be called to testify.

The Salk Vaccine

As THIS summer's polio danger season nears, most parents accept widespread medical confidence in the Salk vaccine. Attention has turned from its safety to the extent of the vaccine's distribution.

Dr. Richard Seibert, director of the vaccine allocation program, believes the flow will "just barely keep pace" with demand in the critical pre-July period when every child should receive his initial injection. But this optimism is based upon the assumption that 25 percent of the 54 million persons in the present recommended national priority group—children below 15 and pregnant women—will not seek the vaccine. Since there is at least an equally good chance that supply will exceed demand, the issue this year appears to be *who* gets the vaccine. Specifically, are physicians observing the age limitations and will the free federal vaccine program, augmented by the $27.8 million supplemental appropriation passed by Congress last week, actually serve those most able to pay?

George of Georgia

ONE CAN be sorry for Sen. Walter George, as one is sorry for anyone slain in the house of his friends. But it is maudlin to speak of him as a great or even superior statesman. He has the gift of old-fashioned oratory, the shrewdness and grasp of a Wiregrass country lawyer who has built up a big-city practice, the know-how brought him by his long legislative experience. But his record shows little of the large-mindedness or the creative leadership attributed to him.

The son of a tenant farmer, Mr. George, has shown small interest in the poor. His successor will be, unless the leopard can change his spots, an arrant demagogue, which George is not, but he will be equally solicitous in behalf of the groups George has been "looking after."

Two years ago, it was political scuttlebut in Georgia that "the old man" would in '56 see the handwriting on the wall, give way gracefully to "Hummon" Talmadge—and receive a handsome recognition from President Eisenhower. Just that has come true. He must have been told by the financial hierarchy of his state—the Coca Cola people, the Atlanta banks, the cotton mill tycoons, the power company and assorted allies—that, much as they hated to have him go, "Hummon" was riding them too hard to be denied. Besides, it has been clear all along that, under the abominable county unit system, Talmadge would win against any contender—even veteran George.

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Those who know the realities of Georgia and national politics have been speculating on the part which a powerful Georgian like General Lucius Clay played, or could have played, in arranging this little deal in Senatorial succession. General Clay is President Eisenhower's friend and adviser. He was an ideal person, if he cared to exert himself, to manipulate things for the purpose of easing George out of the Senate and easing him into a distinguished post at the Administration's disposal.

The latter was in the cards. Senator George has the warm esteem of the White House, despite his deserting the ranks of those who wanted to meet the Bricker amendment head-on and beat it. He has been highly useful to the Administration as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, even to the point of overawing fellow-Democrats with his own brand of austere autocracy and withholding from them, for the sake of a false bipartisanship, information to which they were entitled. As a result, they found themselves committed or embarrassed on more than one occasion by a *fait accompli*.

Senator George and Secretary Dulles worked hand in glove, except when the Senator, irked by the idea of yielding to an upstart, still hoping he would not be unhorsed, shifted his stand in imitation of Talmadge's anti-foreign aid vagaries in the field of foreign policy. But that proved to be a futile gesture; the bloc which had always backed him chose a younger mouthpiece.

There is a touch of tragedy in this business, the tragedy associated with Shakespeare's Wolsey. Had Senator George served the mass of his constituents with half the zeal he gave to other interests, he would not have been left naked to his enemy. Not exactly naked in a worldly sense, to be sure, for the Senator will continue to be a VIP, but naked in being forced to give up to an egregious Johnny-come-lately, or to anyone else, the seat he has held long enough to bask in the radiance of a "George of Georgia" myth.

Food and Diplomacy

WALTER REUTHER, delivering the keynote address to the Ninth Annual Convention of Americans for Democratic Action, threw out once again the familiar idea that America's food surplus should be used as a weapon to combat Communism and poverty overseas. And since this single solution promises to solve our farm problem while confounding the enemy at the same time, ADA delegates responded with the customary enthusiastic applause.

But what is involved in putting the proposal into practice?

The Commodity Credit Corporation is now sitting on $12 billion in surplus farm products, either owned outright by the government or held as collateral on government loans which will never be paid. The big farm organizations are in a hurry for the government to unload these stocks, by selling them or giving them away. And this fiscal year the government did sell about $600 million worth of farm products for local currency abroad. Another $220 million worth was given to foreign governments for disaster relief, and $250 million was handed to American charitable organizations for distribution overseas.

Only last month did the Administration say what it means to do with the $600 million in local currency it receives from sales. We have agreed to lend back to the purchasing countries about $300 million for economic development, to deposit another $150 million in the US Treasury to meet local expenses abroad of the US Government, and to buy over $100 million worth of military supplies abroad. Close to $5 million has been invested in strategic stockpile materials, and a little less than $5 million earmarked for educational exchanges with the purchasing country.

To anyone familiar with the complications of farm surplus sales, this is a prodigious accomplishment, but the Administration's success is offset by the effect of these sales upon other free world suppliers.

Burma, to take one example, entered the 1955 crop year with a million tons of surplus rice, which to a small Asian country was more disastrous than all the American surpluses combined. Burma asked the US to buy Burmese rice for use in our aid program. We declined. Burma thereupon turned elsewhere and sold more than half her surplus to Communist nations. By the end of 1955 a quarter of Burma's foreign trade was in Communist hands, and scores of imported Communist technicians were working in Burma on development projects.

As a gesture, we did buy a million dollars worth of rice from Burma for distribution in neighboring Pakistan, thus permitting Burma to obtain at least this much dollar exchange with which to hire American technicians.

How can we put our surpluses to work abroad without damaging the economies of nations with whom we want cordial relations? If our government has a policy which will satisfy the American farmer, the friendly competitor and our own needs in the Cold War, that policy is not known to the government negotiators whose job is to get the surpluses into the foreign market.

We are convinced that the US can, without damage to our friends, sell a billion dollars worth of surplus farm goods abroad each year over the next 10 years, and that at least one-half of that could be used to finance economic development, particularly in Asia and Africa. But this can only be done if the proper device can be found for co-operative, international financing.

Under present law we "consult with other suppliers" before making a sale abroad, but these consultations are

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little more than a tardy "look out, we're going to undercut you again." In approaching the surplus-sale problem, why do we not adapt the methods our tariff negotiators use under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade? If we did, negotiators of food sales to India from various nations would assemble. They would pair off in twos, to reach bilateral agreements. Then, these two-country food agreements would be subject to modifications made necessary by the interests of other participating countries. Of course buying nations would have to be satisfied that there has been no collusion to raise prices. But such a collective, international procedure would establish the principle that the problems of each major food exporter are the legitimate concern of every other exporter.

In addition, if our food surpluses are to serve the aims of US diplomacy, our government should be willing to commit us to food deliveries over longer periods of time. Agreements for the sale of food paid for with local currencies have never exceeded two years; and most agreements are for one year only. Yet any country in Asia that is operating on a long-range plan for economic development does not dare raise food consumption levels for one or two years only.

Finally, if the Administration were to accept genuine international consultation, and were also to extend surplus-sale agreements beyond the present one-, two- or three-year limits, we would then be in a position to do a great deal more than we are doing to put our surpluses to work abroad. Suppose, to take one example, that India were to agree to employ 50,000 more laborers on its vast 25 million-acre irrigation scheme. These people, previously under-employed, would be paid in local rupees by the Indian Government. Their low standard of living compels these people to spend most of the money on food. That food would be supplied by the US but sold through the Indian Government's grain pool, thus reimbursing the Indian Government for most of the irrigation project's construction cost.

SUCH a scheme, the Food and Agricultural Organization points out, is applicable to employment of Palestinian refugees on road and irrigation projects, to the development of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Iraq, to the Indus Basin project in Pakistan and numerous smaller development programs in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines and Africa, north of the Sahara.

If "fresh ideas" are wanted, why hasn't this one been tried? One State Department official commented wryly that "we are so busy trying to move the food surplus fast enough to satisfy the farm lobby that we haven't had time to get down to niceties."

Another reason, however, may be that such a scheme for putting surpluses to work would cost more money. For even if we demanded payment in local currency for surpluses made available for economic development abroad, the amounts due us would go into a permanent revolving fund for further economic development.

In short, we have the surplus food. Asia and Africa have the unmet customer need. Congress has provided the authority for disposing of that surplus. A capable staff of government negotiators is on the job. All we lack is a directive from the top that will permit us to barter food for long-range development, taking other free world supplies into partnership to ensure their fair share of the world market.

Alliance at Loose Ends

WHEN Secretary Dulles suggested that NATO should move into new fields of co-operation, he offered Europe the same opportunity for initiative as Ernest Bevin seized nine years ago after General Marshall's famous speech at Harvard. But there are no Bevins in Europe today, and Dulles is not Marshall. Instead of surging forward in a collective attack on political and economic problems they face in common, the NATO foreign ministers wrangled incoherently for two days in Paris about the very principles on which NATO is founded.

Apart from M. Pineau, who put forward a detailed blue-print based on ideas which President Eisenhower had just rejected, none of the Ministers had anything concrete to offer. Where Pineau saw the Khrushchev line as ending the Cold War, most of his colleagues saw it simply as a change of tactics. Though everyone paid lip service to the need for a bold new program of aid to Asia and Africa, no one was ready to pledge a specific contribution, and there was total disagreement on the means by which aid should be distributed — France proposing the United Nations, Britain such organs as the Columbo Plan, and the US bilateral agreements. On the Middle East, France remains cold toward the Baghdad Pact; and when the Greek delegate asked whether NATO solidarity required that he should deny landing facilities to Czech aircraft en route to the Egyptian Army, neither the British nor Mr. Dulles could offer a reply.

Though in principle all the NATO members agree they should work together on common problems, each of the Great Powers claims its own problems are of no concern to the rest. The Mediterranean has become NATO's soft underbelly, yet Britain refuses to permit joint discussion of the Cyprus tragedy which is shattering its Southeastern defenses. France does likewise over the Algerian catastrophe which has robbed General Gruenther of the vital troops on the Central Front.

Indeed the Ministers refused even to discuss the military problems which NATO was created to solve. There is less prospect than ever that SHAPE will obtain the forces essential for Europe's defense, yet no one at the Paris meetings seemed interested in facing the choice

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between providing the means to implement NATO's present strategy and adopting a new strategy to fit the forces that are available.

Even the drafting of a communique which might have concealed failure under high-sounding rhetoric was frustrated by a bitter argument between the Belgians and the French. The only positive outcome of the meeting was the appointment of the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Norway and Canada to draw up proposals for consideration in the autumn. All three men are imaginative and enthusiastic supporters of the Atlantic idea, but the fact that none of the Great Powers which will have to implement their proposals choose to be represented on the committee is not encouraging.

And Have Not Charity

Two stories—one about an Algerian Moslem who tried to find a basis for true co-operation between his people and the French, the other of a French priest who tried to bring the message of Christian charity to the Moslems of Algeria—help explain why the Algerian situation is growing steadily worse.

In 1927, Fehrat Abbas expressed the hope that the spirit of French thought would revive the qualities of his people. In 1936, he proposed that young Algerians link their future with the French; his formula was assimilation, but the French were not interested. In 1938, he founded a pro-French party and the following year he enlisted in the French army. After the capitulation, Fehrat Abbas sent a report to Marshal Petain proposing some of the reforms in Algeria which are at present being considered; there was no answer. In December, 1942, he appealed for a new status for the Algerians. When again there was no answer, he issued a "Manifesto to the Algerian People" in 1943, suggesting federalism. All that General de Gaulle was willing to give was a set of minor reforms. The next year Fehrat Abbas founded another party, the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, with the goal of establishing an autonomous Algerian republic freely federated with the French Republic. Once again he was spurned.

After an uprising in Algeria, Fehrat Abbas was jailed and his party banned. A year later, released by an amnesty, he was still pro-French, saying that he repudiated separatism. In 1948, he wrote, "The Europeans and we must build together, with the participation of democratic French forces, the Algerian nation." Nothing happened.

Since the serious troubles began in Algeria in November, 1954, Fehrat Abbas, always opposed to Pan-Islamic religious fanaticism and to Pan-Arab political expansionism, kept aloof from the "rebel" leaders in Cairo. He maintained contact with the French authorities and only recently talked to Robert Lacoste, the Minister-Resident in Algeria, pleading with him to recognize at least an "Algerian national fact." Lacoste said no.

Now Fehrat Abbas is in Cairo working with the Algerian National Liberation Front of Ben Bella and Mohammed Khidder. He says: "The myth of superior races must be forever banished. French colonialism forced us to choose between servitude and death. We have chosen to fight."

Father Augros was allowed to try for only two years. He was Superior of the Seminary of the Mission de France at Lisieux, the town where Saint Theresa of the Infant Jesus had been a Carmelite, and from there he was sent to Souk-Ahras in eastern Algeria near the border of Tunisia.

He and his two vicars, Fathers Manet and Kerlan were deeply shocked by the poverty and misery of the region. There was a crying need to help people, but first their confidence had to be won. The three priests sought to establish contact between the different religious communities. They succeeded so well that in February, 1955, they were able to found a mutual aid association of which the Imam of the Mosque, the Rabbi of the Jewish community and Father Augros became honorary presidents.

But in Souk-Ahras as in every other village, town and region in Algeria, contact with Moslems meant inevitably relations with some who were nationalists. The French Christians objected. They sent a series of petitions to the Bishop of Constantine demanding that the three priests be removed. The Bishop refused.

In a pastoral letter on January 29, the priests condemned terrorism. They also reminded French Christians that they are "forbidden to condemn men merely because they happen to belong to a certain class, nation, race or civilization" and that they are also "forbidden to consider themselves superior because they happen to belong to a certain class, nation, race or civilization." The letter also said: "Charity requires that we accept solidarity with all men all over the world. It makes us aware of justice and lack of justice, not only in individual relations but also in political, economic and social organization."

But Christ was turned back at Souk-Ahras. The priests were expelled. Is it any wonder that the situation in Algeria is growing steadily worse for the French?

Paris PERCY WINNER

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The Superficial Aspect

Romanticism Run Mad

THE SAME issue of the morning papers recently announced (a) that Sen. James Eastland (D, Miss.) is proposing that treason be redefined to apply to any American who gives any help to a technically friendly nation, to wit, Soviet Russia, and (b) that Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.) said, "If our form of government is to be preserved the 'pre-emption' doctrine must be outlawed."

The Constitution of the United States proclaims (Article 3, Section 3, Paragraph 1) "Treason against the United States shall consist *only* in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." The Constitution further proclaims (Article 6, Paragraph 2), "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby." The pre-emption doctrine holds that the accused in any state is entitled to be tried under the supreme law, if any exists applying to his case. It is a doctrine adopted by the Supreme Court many years ago.

It appears, then, that the gentlemen from the South disapprove of the Constitution and the Supreme Court of the United States. It is their right. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, said Jefferson, or to alter its republican form, let them stand undisturbed; for Jefferson was persuaded that the Union even in 1801 was strong enough to withstand foolish talk, and it is infinitely stronger now.

But while the Constitution and the Supreme Court are probably in no great danger of being overthrown by the Southerners, even with the assistance of Senator McCarthy, the South is in a worse position. The South—the whole South, white and black—is facing a problem that is really serious. The elimination of a social pattern of long standing is always serious.

The South therefore needs all the help that wise and skillful leadership can give it; so it is depressing to hear Southern leaders talking, not like Hayne and Calhoun, but like Yancey and Rhett, in whose mouths constitutional debate degenerated into nothing more than mere railing and ranting.

Yancey and Rhett were utterly futile as leaders because they continued to talk after the debate was closed. In 1857 they could demand, and get, a Dred Scott decision but a fat lot of good it did them. In 1957 they will not even get the decision. Once more the Peculiar Institution is doomed; segregation is going to follow slavery, and the problem is not how to preserve it, but how to get rid of it with a minimum of damage to all concerned.

In the case of slavery the Fire-Eaters, Yancey and Rhett in the lead, adopted the worst possible method and the greatest possible damage resulted. Eastland and Byrd are following their example, and while it is unlikely that they can precipitate another Civil War, it is highly probable that they can precipitate grave disorders that will inflict heavy damage upon the South and upon the rest of the nation.

Like the pro-slavery group of a hundred years ago the anti-segregationists are not without logic. The Supreme Court decision may have been ill-timed. In the restricted area known as the Black Belt it is far from certain that the abolition of segregation in the schools will serve the best interest of either race. But the decision has been rendered, and it is idle to imagine that it can be reversed; the problem for statecraft is to carry it into effect with the least possible disturbance.

Senators Eastland and Byrd are making no contribution toward solving this problem, nor is Herman Talmadge who says *he*, not the Court, will interpret the Constitution. Like the manager of a defeated baseball team, their only suggestion is an incessant repetition of, "We wuz robbed!" The only Southerners worth listening to are those who face the fact that the decision has gone against them and who accordingly set themselves to adjust the life of the region to that of 20th Century conditions.

ANYTHING else is romanticism run mad. Unfortunately, the South seems to be peculiarly vulnerable to the romantics. The hard-headed realism of its Madisons, its Marshalls, its Jacksons has given way to a sort of marshmallow thinking, worthy perhaps of Thomas Nelson Page, but not of Hinton Rowan Helper. The actual work of adjustment will have to be done by anonymous local officials—county school boards, high school principals, individual teachers. It is regrettable that to date they are getting no counsel of practical value from their own elected leaders, but only denunciations of the Supreme Court and wailing laments that the Constitution of the United States is what it is. The distress of the South today is traceable to its intellectual bankruptcy in 1856; Eastland, Byrd and Talmadge suggest that it is no better off in 1956.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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Reuther in India

"What a remarkable, amazing, stimulating fellow he is," said Nehru.

by SELIG S. HARRISON

"WE'VE WAITED for you a long time," said Prime Minister Nehru in greeting Walter Reuther. Somewhat stiffly, Reuther replied that his visit to India marked "the realization of a long-cherished dream." Then, as soon as the Prime Minister's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, had paid her respects, Reuther and Nehru went off by themselves for three hours of talk.

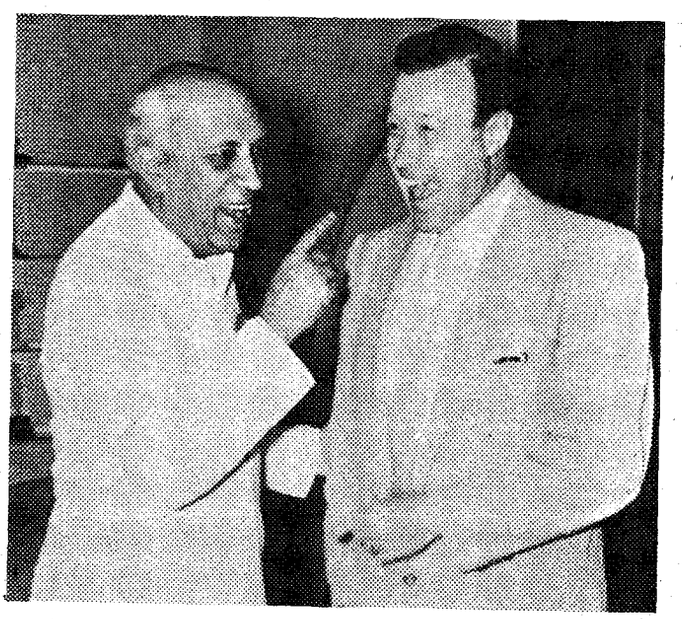
They talked of the national psyches of India and the United States—Nehru explaining Indian foreign policy in the perspective of history and geography, Reuther reassuring him that the long-term premises of US-Asian policy have yet to be settled. Nehru expressed deep concern at the present drift in Indo-American relations "because obviously we need you, just as in the long run you need us." Reuther gave his views on America's race problem—"the Democratic Party must split to win"—of automation's possible impact on US full employment and Indian underemployment, of harnessing the atom for Asian development, of Nehru's labor policy.

"What a remarkable, amazing, stimulating fellow this Reuther is," Nehru later told his Congress Party's national executive committee. The red carpet was rolled out all over India.

When Nehru said India had been waiting, he was stating the literal truth. Although the immediate reason for Reuther's April tour was an invitation from the Indian National Trade Union Congress, seconded officially by the Indian Government, its beginnings reach back earlier and can be traced primarily to the diplomats entrusted with Indo-American relations. Chester Bowles, who emphasized leadership exchange programs as Ambassador in New Delhi, tried repeatedly to arrange a Reuther tour in 1952. By mid-1954, India's Ambassador G. L. Mehta was sending back the names of Reuther and Chief Justice Earl Warren as the two Americans, excepting Dwight Eisenhower, who best symbolize the Indo-American community of values.

Chief Justice Warren might have reached India ahead of Reuther but for AFL-CIO President George Meany's unexpected blast at Nehru last December as a Communist ally "in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage." During his recent consultations in Washington, Ambassador John Sherman Cooper personally appealed to Reuther to accept the standing INTUC invitation and thereby assist in undoing some of the damage Meany's indictment had caused.

From his arrival April 4 until his departure 12 sleepless days and nights later, "Volta Rutta," as cheering crowds called him, kept a schedule that began at 6 A.M. and did not end until close to midnight. He was endlessly garlanded, not only with flowers but with any local stock in trade—strings of camphor balls that burned the neck in Orissa, scalloped cocoons in silk-producing Mysore, shredded sandalwood in Bombay. In as many as 16 speeches a day he spoke to trade union leaders, to workers along the wayside and at factory gates, to teas convened by Nehru's Congress Party brass, to airport receptions, press conferences. and fancy-dress dinners (everyone else was fancy).



SELIG S. HARRISON, *formerly Associated Press correspondent in New Delhi, accompanied Mr. Reuther on his recent trip to India.*

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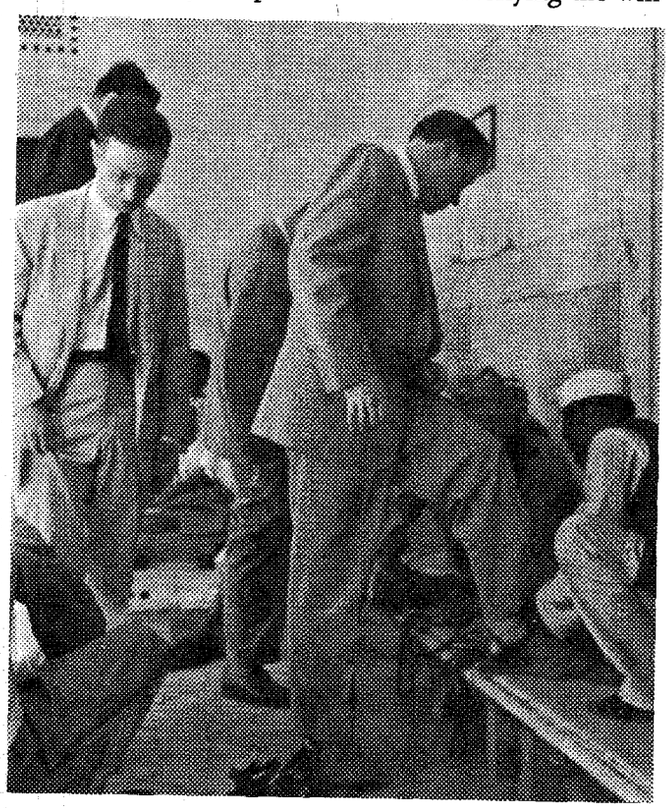
In the midst of this rush he still was able to meet privately with nine ministers in Nehru's cabinet, key state political leaders, Socialist unionists opposed to the pro-Nehru labor federation, leading newspaper editors, and American observers resident in India.

It was Reuther's honest expectation that intensive contact with trade union and intellectual leadership should have first priority in so short a visit; that in this setting he could do more inquiring than declaiming, especially in view of the language barrier that set him apart from mass audiences. But his hosts clearly wanted to balance the impact of the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit by giving Reuther a broad platform. His schedule was planned to bring him before the largest possible number of Indians. Translators were at his side on every rostrum.

India had known Reuther primarily as American labor's political vanguard—"symbol of the forces of the Left in his country," said New Delhi's *Statesman*. His reputation as a militant champion not only of labor's cause but Negro rights made even his unqualified anti-Communism acceptable to non-Communist Indians of all varieties. When Reuther arrived in Calcutta, 22 assorted radical parties—all competing for trade-union leadership—fell over each other in trying to get near enough to bask in his reflected glory.

Moreover, the Indian press had noted Reuther's long-standing opposition to an Asian policy based on military alliances—especially his March 23 letter to Secretary Dulles charging that "American policy has failed to examine closely the political factors underlying the willingness or the absence of willingness to join these pacts." In addition to this implied criticism of US military assistance to Pakistan, he also called on Dulles to help India dislodge Portugal from its Goan colonial enclave near Bombay. Reuther's letter to Dulles was front-page news in India, just as Meany's blast at Nehru had been last December.



Reuther and author at Pearl Mosque

THE *National Herald* of Lucknow, usually averse to anything American, saw him as "what may be termed embodied Americanism in its most attractive form human, vital, impulsive, unafraid of taking a plain stand on fundamental issues." When British Labourite Herbert Morrison, visiting India at the same time as Reuther mildly voiced the hope that India and Portugal would negotiate a solution of the Goan dispute, the Bombay *Indian Express* exclaimed "how different this cautious attitude was from the keen political salesmanship of Mr Reuther, who has been affirming America's anti-colonialism in such heart-warming terms!"

As his personal triumph with Nehru made clear Reuther succeeded in India first and foremost because his bonafides were beyond question on the issues that matter to Indians. But Indians saw him as more than a friendly individual; he just *might* be able to influence American policy. "The immense good that can flow from his mission in the sphere of Indo-American relations can be gauged from the fact that the AFL-CIO has a membership of 15 million workers," commented the *Hindustan Times*.

Reuther managed to be dignified in what he said, while still striking a public pose that was engagingly informal. When he found himself garlanded to the eyebrows hundreds of times a day, he abandoned his wide-brimmed sunhat. The substitute hat he chose, as the Indian press warmly noted, was the tidier Gandhi cap (similar to the GI overseas cap) that he had seen his Indian escorts wearing. He explained his Gandhi cap on functional grounds, but the gesture only seemed all the more gracious. As a foreign guest, Reuther could stride into the Cricket Club of India in Bombay, or into a luncheon of Cambridge-trained civil servants in New Delhi, seemingly unaware that there are Indians who do not wear Gandhi caps. The unconcealed dismay of his Westernized hosts, who look down their noses at the "Indian" Indian in his draped white *dhoti*, was the delight of the *dhoti*-clad unionists in Reuther's entourage.

Though he was in the hands of the pro-government INTUC, labeled a Congress Party company union by its rivals, Reuther did not pull punches in his attacks on unionism which is controlled by political parties. This gave a boost to its anti-Communist competitors at the very moment when the INTUC, eyeing next year's elections, has stepped up efforts to tighten its control of Indian organized labor. A leading opponent of Nehru's

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abor policy, former Labor Minister V. V. Giri, who re-igned from the Cabinet last year as a protest against Con-gress labor policy, presided at Reuther's appearance before the Indian Council on World Affairs in New Delhi. Reuther's identification with Giri, and his frequent declaration that "labor should never become the tail to any political party's kite," endeared him to India's labor intellectuals.

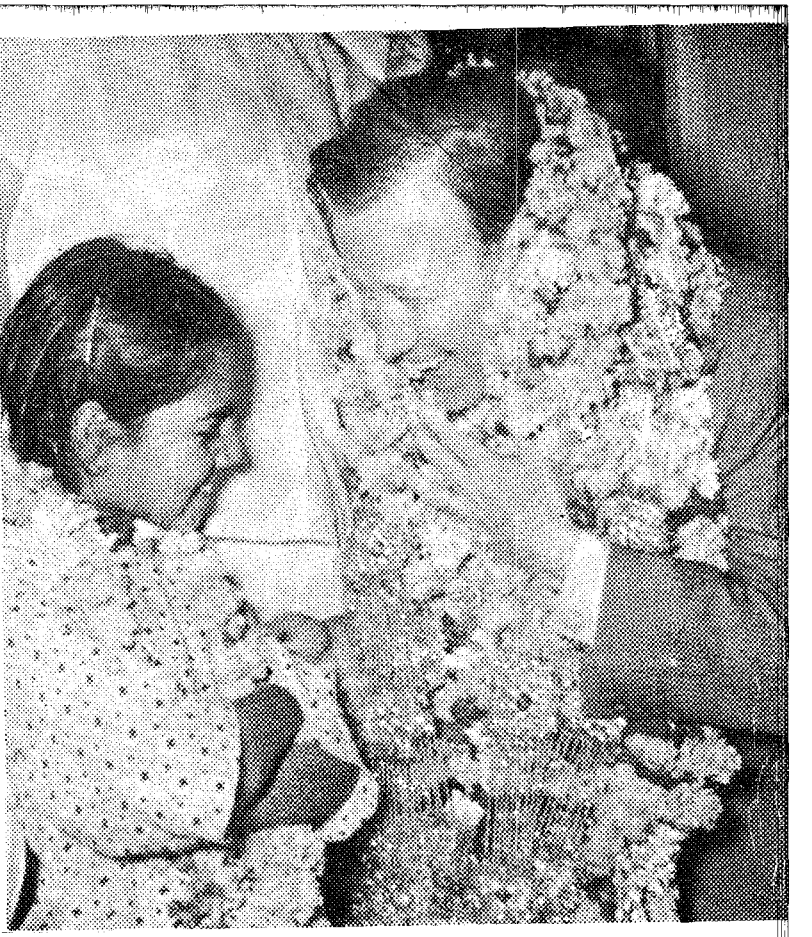
He stressed the special importance of free labor in a mixed economy with a steadily expanding public sector. When the Labor Minister of Mysore State explained that unions might become unnecessary in India's welfare state, Reuther replied, as Mysore's assembled union leaders nodded, that "we're a few thousand years away from the nice, cozy Utopian world when that will be possible." He told a New Delhi press conference how shocked he had been to hear from the manager of the government's Chittaranjan locomotive plant that union organizing is not permitted, warning that "the bosses there may be bureaucrats, but they're still bosses."

The *Economist* of London has commented that Reuther in his speeches "took the opportunity to talk bluntly about the fundamentals of Western policy toward Russia, and instead of being offended, most of his hearers were delighted." Reuther was able to explain postwar US foreign policy with scarcely a challenge from his audiences. At his amiable press conferences, hecklers met glares on all sides. While his talks to workers and villagers consisted primarily of friendly generalities, where audiences were at all literate he recited at length the "differing backgrounds of experience" which had led Indians and Americans to their present divergent world views.

"At war's end," he would begin, "when you in India were in the final phase of your struggle for political independence, America demobilized 15 million men and reduced its armed forces almost to extinction." Then in matter-of-fact tones he would cite the Soviet Union's rejection of the Lilienthal atomic-inspection plan, its assault on Czechoslovakia, its 200 battle-ready divisions remaining under arms, and finally Korea with 55,000 US casualties. Reuther would conclude that the historical reasons for the gulf between Indian and US policies may almost be outlived—providing that military aggression does not again intensify the arms race.

In stressing anti-colonialism and the secondary role of military alliances, Reuther explained that while he did not speak for all American opinion, he did believe he reflected the anti-colonial and anti-militarist heart of America.

He invariably pointed out that as a free American, he could speak his mind in India as in his own country without fear that he would land in prison on his return home. Normally, such a thrust at the Soviet Union from a visiting American would be considered out of place, but it was not considered so in Reuther's case. There were smiles of assent. When he mentioned that he had worked in a Soviet auto plant for two years, curious listeners asked how this could be so—and were told that American technical assistance had taught the Soviets tool-and-die making. He then observed that the Soviet auto worker makes automobiles in which only the bureaucrat rides.



A garland for Lakshmi

Reuther's practised ability to size up an audience enabled him to learn from reactions of his listeners in eight different language regions. He sensed as few Americans do in a brief visit the depth of internal linguistic and religious cleavages which in part underlie Indian foreign policy. It seemed to me that the greatest revelation to Reuther on his trip was this profound relationship between India's internal problems and her world policy—the impact of 40 million Moslems within India on relations with Pakistan, and the desire to forestall cold war pressures until national consolidation has been achieved.

As he heard leader after leader speak in the warm accents of Gandhian democratic values, he seemed deeply impressed, too, by the quality of India's present leadership. The wisdom of one of these men, Chief Minister Morarji Desai of Bombay State, a possible successor to Nehru, summed up the East-West psychological barrier.

"You Americans," Desai told Reuther, "have the complex of the successful people who cannot bear contradiction. You cannot tolerate the thought of being wrong once. For us to live together, you have to learn to live down your success, and we—we have to live down our frustration."

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1956—Issues That Won't Be Faced

by MICHAEL D. REAGAN

WE ARE WITNESSING this year a bipartisanship of silence. It is no new thing, nor is it the product of bipartisan agreement to deceive the voter. The explanation is simply that in a Presidential election year (and perhaps other years as well), there are certain issues which do not lend themselves to easy definition, which are not "vote-getters," and are therefore ignored. This is the charitable explanation; the other is that since most politicians think no further than the next election, complex and long-range national issues, however important, have no place in partisan debate. Even at this stage in the campaign, one can point to a group of such issues which it is safe to assume will not be discussed at whistle-stops or over TV between now and election day.

The Power of a Few

EVEN THE semi-moribund Federal Trade Commission is concerned over a merger rate that has trebled since 1949. Other indices of concentration of economic power include these facts: the 100 largest industrial corporations —out of 600,000 corporations in the United States—have combined assets of $114 billion and employ 5.545 million people; at the last business census 85 percent of production in petroleum and coal products, cigarettes, electric lamps, small arms ammunition and aluminum was accounted for by not more than four firms in each industry.

Democrats are not in a much better position than Republicans to make an issue of monopolization today, since 20 years of Democratic rule saw only three prewar years of vigorous antitrust action. But the basic cause of indolence is the public ambivalence toward what is at least commonly accepted to be monopoly's superior efficiency.

A more ominous development than economic concentration itself is the extent to which the national government has been and is strengthening the strong. This is being done by an agricultural subsidy system which gives 50 percent of price-support payments to only 9 percent of the farms; by regulatory policies which instead of maintaining competition minimizes it, as in protection by the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Civil Aviation Authority of major airlines from the threat of independent and non-scheduled operators; by tax inequities in the form of depletion allowances for the extractive industries and rapid amortization for plant construction having some tenuous relationship to national defense; and by Defense Department handling of procurement contracts in such a way that an increasingly large share of this business has gone to 100 firms (for the first half of 1955, this ran to 68.4 percent). It would be hard to think of a more effective way to kill a competitive economy.

In a seemingly permanent war economy, business increasingly depends upon government, but government also needs business and to date the leverage all seems to be exercised by business. (For more of the gruesome details, see the recent book, *Monopoly in America*, by Walter Adams and Horace Gray.)

Fair Distribution of Income

WITH THE Republicans claiming nearly universal prosperity for the nation and the Democrats disputing only the farmers' share, the astounding inequality of wealth still existing in the United States will not be accented as a campaign issue. While it is true that the national income as a whole has risen sharply since 1940, it is equally true—although infrequently mentioned—that the increase has not been shared proportionately by all segments of the population. (And even if it had been shared equally, that would only have reinforced the inequities previously existing.) While the median personal income of manufacturing workers increased from $988 in 1939 to $3,371 in 1953, and that of craftsmen and foremen from $1,298 to $4,210, clerical income rose only to $2,849 and farmers' cash income from $372 to $571. In retail trade the 1954 figure was $2,139, while it was $4,908 for managers and proprietors. The racial differential remains the most shocking facet of income inequality: while personal annual income of white persons rose to $3,174, that of non-white persons reached only $1,589.

Most of the income redistribution has affected the top adversely and the middle favorably, leaving the bottom

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ng of income receivers still holding the bag. The erage increase in income for the top fifth of Ameri- an families rose only 40 percent from 1935 to 1948; hat of the second and third lowest fifths rose 93 percent nd 88 percent respectively. But the lowest fifth, that art of the population most in need of an increased share, aw its average income rise only 67 percent in the same eriod. And the share of national income this group re- eived remained at 3 percent while the top fifth still got 2 percent of total wages and salaries.

Without quarreling with the capitalist assumption that ome economic inequality is necessary as an incentive, at east in this country at this time, one can still doubt that uch an extreme as these figures reveal is justifiable. Put- ing it concretely, a wage differential of 300-to-1 (the resident of General Motors compared with a clerk- ypist, for example) reflects power and prestige, but cer- ainly not differential merit.

Wealth, Health and Education

ALTHOUGH WE LACK full statistics on the point, it is lear that differences in income have a direct effect on elative equality of opportunity. We don't have many hildren working at the age of nine or 10 any longer, but e do have untold thousands of capable students finan- ally unable to obtain the college education that is fast ecoming a prerequisite to business or professional suc- ess. And in this period of prosperity one of every five ildren 16 years old is still not in school. More subtly, et quite definitely, the kind of a home and the cultural nd intellectual tools available to a child, which we know ffect his ability as well as his manners and "style," de- end upon the income of the child's parents.

The quality of education, while obviously not en- irely dependent on having the latest in educational gim- icks and pastel walls, does bear a convincing relation o each community's ability and willingness to invest in s children's future. Yet the average expenditure per upil in 1954 in Mississippi was $114 while it was $362 n New York. Will the Mississippi child have an edu- ation equal to that of the New Yorker? Teachers' alaries, while showing substantial gains since World War II, at least in the wealthier industrial areas, are still xtremely low in relation to the training required and to ther occupations of equivalent skills. A society just be- inning to feel the impact of a technological revolution as increasing need of both skilled technicians and berally educated citizens. Yet our period of greatest ational wealth has also been one of declining educa- onal plant, double-session schools and a shortage of eachers.

Our health, too, bears a direct relationship to our in- ome. The incidence and duration of illness is greatest among those with the least financial ability to pay for medical care. And the voluntary pre-payment plans aren't doing nearly the job that is being claimed for them. From the fact that nearly 100 million persons now are covered by some form of hospitalization and/or medical-surgical plan, the impression is given that for better than half the population the problem of medical economics has been solved. Such is not the case.

While more than 100 million Americans have some type of pre-payment plan for hospital care, 65 million have no coverage whatever. Of a total of more than $10 billion in private medical-care costs annually, only a little more than $2 billion—22 percent—is now being met through insurance benefits.

This is partly because the lowest income groups, most in need of medical care, are least likely to belong to the plans, but primarily it is because the coverage under the plans is far from complete. I suppose it is a tribute of some sort to the public-relations counsel for the Amer- ican Medical Association that we are so often informed of the number of people in the pre-payment plans and so seldom informed of the percentage of medical ex- penses not covered.

Automation

IN 1850, 27 percent of the physical work in the United States was done mechanically, the rest by human or ani- mal power; in 1948, mechanical power did 94 percent. Most of this advance derives from mechanization in the traditional sense. But within the past few years a new technology has appeared on the scene, the technology of automation. Definable as a system of automatic machines possessing the quality of feedback or self-regu- lation, automation promises to revolutionize American industry in a few years. The problem of technological unemployment, which we had considered to be largely under control in our expanding economy, is raised again as a result of this second industrial revolution. Because automation and computation systems can be applied to information-handling as well as to materials-handling, the office worker will be as subject to displacement by machines as the production man. Automation, wherever it is applied, promises also to displace more and more rapidly than did the traditional mechanization process.

One of the political issues stemming from automation is whether we are willing to gamble on hit-or-miss ad- justment without enforcing any responsibility for the resulting dislocations of workers onto the industries in- volved, or whether we will insist on formulation of a rational public policy to meet or forestall the problems that will come with automation. So far, no political spokesmen seem to be much interested.

Another issue, possibly of larger significance, arises from the intensification of the pressures on the consumer to buy more and more goods he doesn't really need.

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Since automation means higher rates of production, the consequence will clearly be an intensification of the advertising fraternity's efforts to make us dissatisfied with what we have, either in terms of quantity or newness of product (rarely quality). As we are close to (if we haven't already reached) the danger point in extension of installment credit just from trying to keep up with what the Joneses now have, what will be the economic and psychological effect of an even more hysterical compulsion to consume than we now have? Yet the only consequence of automation being accorded much space in our mass media is an increase in leisure time, and this may turn out to be a euphemism for unemployment!

Machine-Processed Personality

IN A LARGER SENSE, automation itself is but the most recent and striking manifestation of what Kenneth Boulding has called the "Organizational Revolution." Among academic social analysts it is now considered belaboring the obvious to point out that we work, play and think in organized groups more than as individuals today. But few have dug very deeply into the implications of increasingly tight organization of economic, social and cultural activities.

More and more we adjust our lives to machines, to the imminent logic of modern technology, not knowing how to live with it and unwilling to live without it. In modern industrial society, whether Russian, French or American, the collectivization of human activity is decreasing the scope of individual freedom of choice. For an organized society is an interdependent society, and the individual cannot be permitted to disrupt the system by eccentric action, or by eccentric thought.

Compulsive conformity to organizational patterns is a problem that has hardly begun to attract public discussion. The issues it will pose for our society in the next few years have not yet been politically defined. Yet the compatibility of our technological-organizational advancement with our ethical goal of the free personality is a question of basic concern to the survival of democracy.

Why the Silence?

IN ACCOUNTING for the failure of these issues to achieve political recognition several reasons can be suggested. First of all, there is the nature of the problems. They are complex, long-range and in some aspects more difficult to trace in tangible form than are most of our political issues. A campaign system that relies on manipulation of emotional symbols finds it difficult to handle problems that have not yet been simplified into slogans. Another reason I think lies in our pride in collective prosperity, in the indices of gross national income and productivity. When the over-all figure is high we conveniently forget to examine the distribution of wealth among functional groups and income classes. Yet in each generation new sources of wealth arise and new inequities develop, requiring new reforms.

Those who have gained most in recent years are inevitably less interested in the problem of poverty now that it is no longer personal to them. And those who suffer most are often the least articulate and least organized politically. Yet the political process will necessarily be involved in any resolution of these problems. When complacency grips the politically effective segments of the population little can be expected of the political parties or candidates in the way of proposing solutions to the kinds of problems we have discussed.

The Strange Stillness over Spain

by LOUIS FISCHER

REVISITING Spain for the first time since 1938, when the civil war was still raging, I naturally wanted to see the scenes I had known during the years of that conflict. Madrid's University City is completely rebuilt; hardly any sign remains of the prolonged trench warfare in which the Loyalists and Franco supporters bled and died for every square yard of asphalt. In Getafe and Carabanchel Alto and Bajo, the scars of war have likewise been erased—except, apparently, in the hearts of men. The Spaniard who showed me through these suburbs of the capital city pointed to a new housing settlement. "Workers are supposed to live here," he said sourly, "but what worker could pay the rent? The apartments are occupied by Syndicatos officials and army officers." On the way back to Madrid we passed a broad depression between two main roads which was an ugly slum. "Here our working people live," he said, and to make sure that I did not miss the point he made a detour and drove me around to the other side of the filthy shantytown.

Symbol of Spain's stubborn social freeze is the Palace Hotel in Madrid. When I first looked into that ornate edifice in 1934 and again in April, 1936, its clientele

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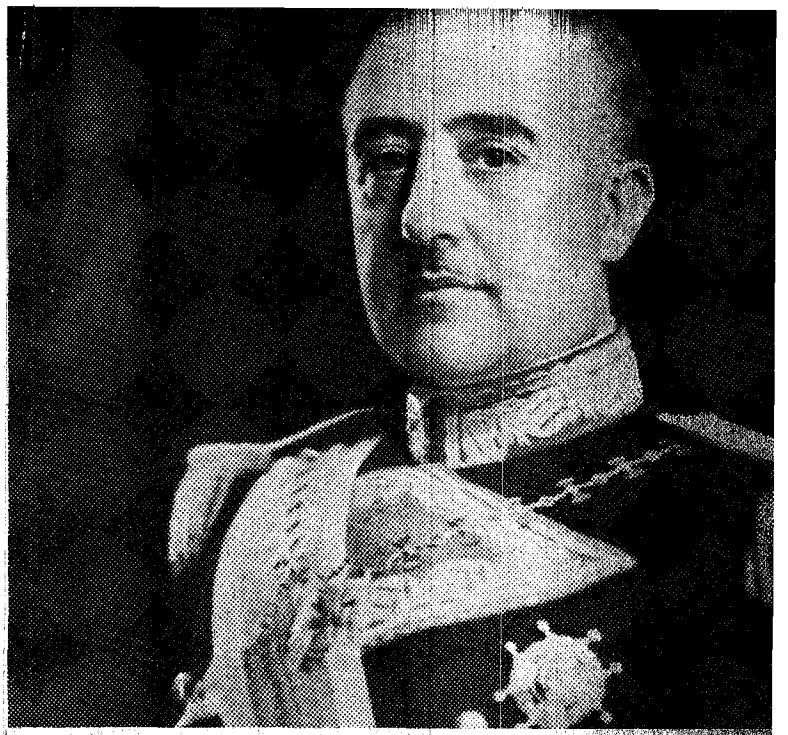
ıcluded grandees, rich landlords, top industrialists, and ›ther wealthy Spaniards. In 1937, during Franco's siege ›f the capital, the hotel was converted into a Loyalist ıospital. Now, brightly refurbished and refurnished, the ypical upper-class patrons are back again as though ıothing had happened, and the truth is that nothing fun-!amental has happened in Spain despite the three-years' ıvil war and the rise of the Franco dictatorship on the ;rave of the republic.

THE historic function of the republic was to change and lift the face of Spain by at least mitigating class cleavages and developing the country's limited resources so as to improve the national standard of living. ?ut the leaders of the republic, though well-intentioned nd enlightened European democrats, were easy-going, rresolute, and, in the ensemble, ineffective. Their presnce at the helm encouraged the city workers, the peasnts, and the landless laborers to demand better onditions, and when their demands were not met, ıatred frequently exploded into violence and strikes. hus in Andalusia, in 1934 and 1936, I saw estates hat had been forcibly seized by *braceros* or farm laborers nd *junteros* or poor peasants and parcelled out among hemselves. As the resentment and aggressiveness of the east-privileged classes mounted, the resistance of the 'pper classes grew. The republic proved unable to .tisfy or pacify the workers and peasants or to reform pain against the wishes of the backward-looking urban ›urgeoisie and rural aristocracy. Out of this stalemate ›rang the Franco rebellion of July, 1936. It was invitable that some group would try to wrest power from he weak hands of the republic.

Because the lives of the 28,750,000 inhabitants of ›pain are involved, one would be happy to report pro-;ress since 1939. In the 17 years that have elapsed, ome development was of course inevitable. There is nore automobile traffic in the big cities. Many people in he streets are better dressed. But the national economy s a whole has received no fillip from Franco. Until 950, food production was not more than 75 percent of he 1933-35 average. Bread was rationed until spring, 952. Up to 1953, annual steel production remained ınder the pre-civil war level of one million tons, and ›nly in 1954 did it rise to 1.1 million tons. A number of ocomotives now in use on the Spanish railroads were nanufactured in 1858. Much of Spain's factory equipnent is antiquated. The per-capita gross national product s less than $250 per year or about 50 percent of the Western European average. The greater part of the popuation spends almost all its income on food and com›lains about high prices and low earnings. The recent 20-›ercent pay increase granted to Spanish workers was re-;arded as inadequate. There were protest strikes last



Generalissimo Franco

month, and thousands of workers have not yet returned to their jobs.

Franco's regime has been making a valiant effort to correct some of the imbalance in the Spanish social system. For this purpose the Generalissimo avails himself of the Syndicatos which are, by official admission, instruments in the service of the state for the implementation of its policies. A worker pays a small contribution to the Syndicatos, but the tribute exacted from the employer is much larger. From the funds thus accumulated, the workers receive unemployment benefits, health service, old-age pensions, and, above all, family allowances. When one of its staff is married, a firm is required to pay him a sizable dowry, and at the birth of each child it again makes a considerable payment to the father or mother in its employ. Most white-collar workers receive, in addition, an annual bonus amounting to at least one and often two months salary, and industrial workers are paid a minimum of a fortnight's annual bonus. Employers are not permitted to dismiss workers without the approval of the Syndicatos, and approval is not readily given.

These welfare-state provisions of the Franco regime constitute a cushion against destitution and moderate the ferocious working-class and middle-class opposition to the dictatorship. Nevertheless, the workers, according to all available evidence, though wooed, have not yet been won. *Eccelsia,* an influential Catholic organ in Spain, summarizing the findings of a national gathering of church advisers, declared in its issue of January 23, 1954, that while the workers recognize the value of existing social legislation they look upon this as a means of combatting Communism rather than as an expression of social justice, and they believe that the concessions made by the employers were forced upon them by the government. The workers, said the journal, insist that wages

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are too low and should be increased 40 to 75 percent. The employers, on the other hand, *Eccelsia* reported, are unanimous in their praise of the government's measures and especially appreciate the official organization of workers' leisure and education. However, *Eccelsia* added, some provincial church advisers drew attention to the infiltration of the Syndicatos, state offices, and even Catholic institutions by former elements of the Socialist Party and of the Anarchists. In fact, a pamphlet published in English by the Syndicatos asserts, "And there is nothing strange or surprising to see an old worker, formerly affiliated to the UGT (Socialist Trade Unions under the republic) or the CNT (pro-Anarchist Trade Unions in republican times), as members of the Syndical boards."

It is generally agreed that Socialists, Anarchists and Communists who were prominent in their parties before Franco's revolt, today occupy positions in the Falange, the government and the Syndicatos. Their motivation may be varied. Some avow their conversion for the sake of personal security; others welcome the welfare-state features introduced by Franco. A Communist would have no difficulty agreeing with the present Spanish Minister of Information, Don Gabriel Arias Salgado, who each year makes more or less the same speech justifying the dictatorship. On December 12, 1953, for example, Senor Arias declared, according to the daily Madrid *Arriba,* that "in liberal countries freedom of the press means in fact censorship by financial interests and is not freedom at all. To identify press freedom with lack of state control is a sophism. . . ." One could find statements by Lenin, Stalin and other Communists expressing similar sentiments. On December 4, 1955, Mr. Arias, speaking in Valencia, urged that "we must free ourselves from the dialectics of liberalism." Further, "the truth is that the authorities are the director, supervisor and administrator responsible for the public welfare while the channels of information act as collaborators." Too much attention, he continued, was being given to public opinion; "where there is a discrepancy between the government and public opinion the former must prevail."

DESPITE this doctrine of state supremacy and notwithstanding Franco's monopoly of the media of information, his regime is rigorous without being vigorous. It lacks what Spain has lacked for a long time: energy, determination and the will to drastic, rapid change. In other words, Franco staged a successful revolt but has failed to make a social revolution. It is Spain's greatest need.

Intellectuals and students I met in Spain erupted, at the least encouragement, into passionate diatribes against the lassitude, ineptitude and high cost of the dictatorship. "We have more generals," one person said, "than America and Russia combined." I had no way of checking this assertion and merely accepted it as an outburst of discontent. Certainly, the military have invaded fields c civilian activity in no way related to national defens What apparently stirs oppositionist Spaniards to th greatest rage is the immobility, the stagnation, the dee freeze of the economy and of society. Francoism is offi cially styled "The Movement," but it does not move. I has not mobilized the resources of the country, or put al land to the most productive use, or stirred popular en thusiasm for work, or attempted to efface the glaring in equalities between wealthy and poor.

MY outstanding impression in Spain was of silence Not that Spanish crowds are less noisy or tha there is less talk both for and against the regime But a strange stillness blankets the nation, a kind of sick room hush, as though a big "Do Not Disturb" sign hun over Spain. Politically, the Pyrenees rise to a Himalaya altitude and shut out the fresh breezes that might blow in from Europe. Spain is a peninsula yet it seems mor like an island isolated from its Continent, and at leas the southern portion has been exposed to debilitating winds out of Africa. The accent is on passivity, and tha goes for the government as well as the people.

In the circumstances, the criticism one hears is no creative; under absolutism it never can be. "How do the people live?" I asked the taxi man who drove me to my hotel from the airport in Barcelona, the capital of industrial Catalonia.

"Badly," he replied with emphasis. "Inflation hits everybody. Madrid gives us no money for development."

"Why not?" I questioned.

"Because we are regarded as the Red Catalans."

Then, without invitation from me, he launched into a little speech. "All wars are evil," he said. "After an international war, however, friendship again becomes possible. Look at America's relations with Japan. But a civil war tears families apart and rends the country from end to end for a long time."

"Who started the civil war in Spain?" I probed.

"Franco," he declared unhesitatingly.

"And what can you do about it?"

"Nothing, nothing," he said, and mournfully shrugged his shoulders.

This nothingness is the essence of Spanish politics today. It reflects an eagerness for something to happen and the possibility of an explosion. The lid, so far, has stayed in place less because Franco is sitting on it than out of the people's terrible fear of another civil war with its death and destruction. Always the same negative nothingness and sad silence.

LOUIS FISCHER *is the author of numerous books and articles on world affairs. Next month he leaves on a lengthy tour abroad; during that time his observations on the foreign scene will appear regularly in this Journal. Mr. Fischer's latest book is* This Is Our World.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

A Comedian Playing Hamlet

by Irving Howe

No obligation is more destructive to the aging writer—yet none more honorable—than the feeling that, me fashions as they may and intelctual revolutions as they must, he will ntinue to write as in his youth, bitrly loyal to the public image he had eated of and for himself, aware that

inority Report: H. L. Mencken's Notebooks (Knopf; $3.95).

ıly by its smudged contours can he be membered at all. For self-imitation ıd then self-parody is the fate of alost every writer. The great ones, like homas Mann, turn every charm of ıeir craft, the last desperate resources their magic, to ward off this ending; ıey learn to cheat their daemon by paroying in their later works precisely the pses into self-parody which they most ar. But those who fail to see the vages of habit in the mirror, they are ıe ones to be pitied.

To the painful end H. L. Mencken as determined to remain the Mencken eryone knew. The script had ıanged, the cast had died, the whole ıeatre had burned down; yet there he as, still performing his usual act, this altimore iconoclast who simmered with ıntempt for "the blowsy vacuity which arks so much of the so-called thinking mankind." Long after anyone cared, kept hacking away at Prohibition; in ıe era of Hitler and Stalin he kept etting over the need to extend capital ınishment; and with a kind of onomaniacal zest he kept cussing out ıetaphysics, a fraud, he was convinced, ıat had been dreamed up by sluggards o lazy to do an honest day's work.

Well, the need to keep up the public ıle is understandable and even, in a ay, admirable. But what is appalling to learn, in this post-humous collection Mencken's epigrams and reflections, ıat he really believed everything he id, that his ranting came from literal conviction rather than satiric exaggeration, that he had absolutely no critical distance from his chosen role, and worst of all, that he had transformed his private self into a mere extension of his public opportunities.

Like an orator making speeches in his bedroom, Mencken keeps driving his hard-and-ready opinions into his notebooks. Religion? "We must respect the other fellow's religion . . . to the extent that we respect his theory that his wife is beautiful and his children smart." Morality? "The prejudice against adultery arises from the inferior man's fear that he can't hold his woman." Literature? "All poetry is simply an escape from reality. It says what is palpably not true. . . . I have often argued that a poet more than thirty years old is simply an overgrown child." War? "The thing constantly overlooked by those hopefuls who talk about abolishing war is that it is by no means an evidence of decay but rather a proof of health and vigor." Economics? "The fundamental cause of panic and business depressions is probably nothing more subtle than the desire to get something for nothing." Philosophy? "It consists very largely of one philosopher arguing that all others are jackasses." The American workers? "The more skilled men in the CIO automobile union settled toward one side and *the mere human mules* toward the other." [My emphasis —I. H.] And the Orientals? "The Hindus, save when they have been denaturized by Western influences, are actually barbarians. . . ."

What is so depressing here is that Mencken actually believed this bilge, it was the offspring of his heart, he was never more serious than when everyone thought he was merely carrying on. Yet it is clear that he was also a highly intelligent man. He could write that "man, in the last analysis, is intrinsically unconsolable" and "moral certainty is always a sign of cultural inferiority." These are very fine: they conform to the modest requirement that even epigrams be true. But the need to be Mencken finally destroyed him; in the thirties and forties it would have destroyed anyone.

It has become a commonplace of literary history that Mencken was an emancipator who helped free American writing from gentility and American manners from provinciality; and this is true, or at least true enough to make it worth saying. But it is also true that whenever we fall back upon a writer's "historical importance" and try to assert his value in terms of what was peculiarly local to his time, it is probably due to an uneasy awareness that his voice no longer reaches us. In the recent efforts to "revive" Mencken it has been customary to speak of the need for a similar figure in our own time. To be sure; nothing could be more useful than a cultural leader who would outrage our genteel and conformist literary world. But the whole point is that Mencken, even at his best, would no longer be adequate, he could no longer affect our cultural life, for in whatever ways we have regressed since the twenties—and we *have* regressed—it is unlikely that we can again respond to the carnival Nietzschianism that was the essence of his thought.

The mind one sees at work in these notebooks is neither interesting nor supple; it is a shrewd brassy mind, infatuated with its own display and cosy with its own assurance. The thought and the writing are characterized by a pitiful narrowness of spirit, an iconoclasm as rigid and lifeless as the academic humanism of Irving Babbitt, once Mencken's great enemy. Mencken's mind lacked pliability, a readiness to lie open and listen; he had little of the true critic's gift for exposing himself to the thought of others; and above all, he lacked ordinary relaxed affection, simple generosity. His straining toward the aristocratic posture was both absurd and self-deceptive, for actually he was happiest as a reporter mixing with the sweaty "herd" that delighted in him the more he denounced it. The aristocratic posture does not come naturally or easily to American writers and those who try for it generally end up looking a little silly. The Mencken who claimed to care only for the select few, who spoke in the name of cosmopolitanism and *Kultur*

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and superior beer, finally came to seem another in the long line of provincial American intellectuals, with their homespun cynicism, their cracker-barrel "philosophy," their unfocussed and burgeoning resentments, their distrust of the life of the mind.

Having written this much I called a stop, for I know how easy and tempting it is to batter down yesterday's household gods. Surely there is more to Mencken? And so I have gone back to his books, sampling here and there, and can say with pleasure, Yes there *is* more, though not quite as much as his admirers claim.

At his best Mencken was a superb reporter, a first-rate entertainer, and this particularly when he found a subject or occasion outside of himself, beyond the Dreiser is marvellous, a classic of our cultural history, though less as evidence of Mencken's critical gift, which was small and uncertain, than as evidence of the close kinship he could establish with a few of his contemporaries. The pieces on Wilson and Harding, the fine sketch of Valentino, then murderously unjust but brilliant obituary of William Jennings Bryan, the extremely funny eulogy of Coolidge ("He had no ideas, and he was not a nuisance")—such writings are still worth turning back to, and they should have a long life as useful contrasts to the increasingly adulatory tone of American historiography. Alistair Cooke, whose paper-back Mencken is very good if only because it reduces him to properly modest proportions, strikes exactly the right note when he speaks of Mencken as "a humorist by instinct and a superb craftsman by temperament." Humorist and craftsman he certainly was, but also a humorist who could be singularly humorless and cheap.

Perhaps these notebooks should never have been published; yet they were clearly meant to be. And as one turns back to them, flipping the pages, the evidence of Mencken's narrow-mindedness, his village misanthropy keeps piling up until finally one wants wearily to say to him what Wallace Stevens once wrote in a lovely little poem:

> That strange flower, the sun
> Is just what you say.
> Have it your way.
>
> The world is ugly
> And the people are sad.
>
> That tuft of jungle feathers
> That animal eye,
> Is just what you say.
>
> That savage of fire,
> That seed,
> Have it your way.
>
> The world is ugly,
> And the people are sad.

On the Wrong Side of Town

by James T. Farrell

NELSON ALGREN'S first short story appeared in *Story Magazine* in 1933 at a time when he was a migratory laborer in the Southwest. He won some immediate recognition among writers, critics and publishers, and about two years later his first novel, *Somebody in Boots* was published. A powerful work, it remains today as one of the books of the thirties which is likely to outlive its own time. Since then, Algren has published four other works of fiction, *Never Come Morning, Neon Wilderness,* a collection of short stories, *The Man with the Golden Arm* and now, his latest novel, *A Walk on the Wild Side. The Man with the Golden Arm* was described by *Time* magazine as "One of the finest novels of the year . . ." Ernest Hemingway predicted that Nelson Algren would rank "among our best American novelists."

A Walk on the Wild Side, by Nelson Algren (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $4.50).

When we deal with a writer of talent, it seems to me that the question of recognition and praise is secondary and sometimes incidental. What is of more importance is to try and understand what that writer is and to gain some sense of the character and nature of his books. And Algren, in his latest novel, gives us a great deal of help. The jacket blurb of this book quotes him as follows:

> *A Walk on the Wild Side* wasn't written until long after it had been walked. That was through what remained of old Storyville by the summer of 1931. I'd come to New Orleans with a card entitling me to some editorial position because I'd attended a school of journalism. I wasn't sure whether I wanted to be a columnist or a foreign correspondent but I was willing to take what was open. What was open was a place on a bench in Lafayette Square if you got there early. I found my way to the streets on the other side of the Southern Pacific station, where the big jukes were singing something called "Walking the Wild Side of Life." I've stayed pretty much on that side of the curb ever since.

Practically all of Algren's fiction concerned with those who stay close t the curb. The world he has described a fringe one of aimless men, prostitute junkies, small time confidence men, pe ty law-breakers, the inhabitants of wh is usually called Skid Row. For thes people Algren possesses a sympath which, at times, flows over into sent mentality. He understands them, and hi ear for their speech patterns, their way of thinking and their frequently twiste outlook on the world, on society, o characters and events, is excellent. I passing, I might observe that Algren nc only writes good dialogue, but that h writes many kinds of good dialogu Characters on Chicago's West Side i his *The Man With the Golden Arm* ar made to speak in words which ring tru and convincing: his Southern procurers prostitutes and drunks seem to spea with an equally convincing ring o reality.

A Walk on the Wild Side is mainl concerned with a shambling Souther illiterate, Dore Linkhorn. The son of preaching father who is "touched" o even more than "touched," Dore take to the road. From Texas, he gets to Nev Orleans and for a period he become something of a character in the Nev Orleans milieu of prostitutes, panderer and related types of the New Orlean old French quarters. Dore works as door-to-door canvasser gyping house wives; he performs as the main acto and, as it were, stud horse in a peep show operation; he shacks up for a while with a mulatto girl who, althougl a prostitute is more than a cut abov the other girls in the bordello; he doe time after being caught in a raid; he i beaten and blinded in a fight with a leg less strong man from whom he hac

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ken the mulatto girl; and in the end he es back home, back to his origins, eking the first girl he ever knew.

It might be said that Algren's novels e weak in structure, and that they ince a lack of good constructive sense id an inability to maintain a narrative ice; or that his novels are different in nd, quality and character from those ooks which show structure, construcve capacity and an ability to sustain a arrative pace. Algren writes all around character and gradually you realize at his character is real. He is atmosheric and impressionistic. Here, his ook is slow in getting off the ground id one needs to be patient and to read owly through the opening sections, hich are not well organized, before ne realizes that once again he is readig an Algren novel with the traits hich mark—I might almost say trademark—Nelson Algren's fiction. Especially after he lands Dore in New rleans, he is at his best.

Algren can lavish poetic feeling on bjects, sights, scenes, areas where few would find anything lyrical. At the same time, there is sometimes a descent into bathos. He can overdo his poetizing of the drab. Because of this, his writing is uneven and from page to page as you read, you are alternately moved, lifted up and then dropped flatly into an unexpected pool of sentimentality.

Concerning *A Walk on the Wild Side,* Nelson Algren states:

> This is a story that tries to tell something about the natural toughness of women and men, in that order. . . . I like to think it is really about any street of any big town in the country.

A Walk on the Wild Side is not about any street in any big city of the country: it is about any street of the lost in a big city. Algren is a chronicler of the lost, but a chronicler whose talent is, to my mind, definite and unmistakable. All of his novels seem equally uneven: but all of them reveal his special talent, and give their reward. If you like Nelson Algren's work, you'll like *A Walk on the Wild Side.* It is the product of a distinguished American writer.

Mr. Hoover's Economy Drive

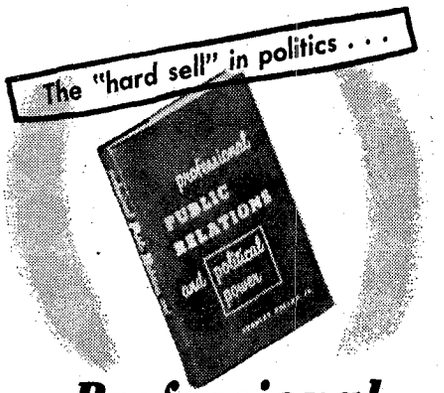
by Chet Holifield

MOVING agencies around on the checkerboard of government has been a favorite occupation of lerbert Hoover for many years. With n engineer's concern for things mechanal, he adheres to the belief that the rganization of government agencies is ecisive in defining the role of governent in contemporary life. Reorganizaon thus becomes a technique for reucing that role. To show the present roliferation of "Big Government" he fond of using the figure, as he does i the introduction to this book by lessrs. MacNeil and Metz, of 1900 ederal government agencies, a sum hich counts as a separate "agency" very branch, bureau and division with- i a government agency.

One of Mr. Hoover's final gestures as resident was to ask the Congress in late 1932 to approve 58 agency consolidations in the executive branch of the government from which he had been retired by the voters. These post-election reorganization proposals were rejected altogether by the Congress, which had changed from a Republican to a Democratic majority the year before. The prevailing sentiment was that the new President, Franklin Roosevelt, should not have his hands tied in taking office; he should be free to present his own ideas of executive management, supported by popular mandate.

In the 23 years since the Hoover reorganization debacle, Republicans have acquired a majority in the national legislature twice, during the Eightieth and Eighty-third Congresses. Each time they created by statute a Commission to study the organization of the executive branch and to recommend reorganization measures. Each time the Commission, launched under such auspicious circumstances for the presentation of Mr.

he Hoover Report, by Neil MacNeil and Harold W. Metz (Macmillan; $6).



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260 pages **$4.50**

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Politics, Presidents and Coattails

By Malcolm Moos

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Hoover's ideas, encountered reverses. The voters of the country had changed the majority in Congress from Republican to Democratic before each of the two Hoover Commissions completed their labors.

The second Hoover Commission is meeting a less favorable reception in Congress than the first. It refused to exercise self-restraint, as had the earlier Commission, in construing its Congressional mandate. Instead of dealing mainly with matters of government organization, it took upon itself to declare against the wisdom of diverse Federal policies and programs. As a member of the second Hoover Commission, I found it necessary to enter numerous dissents to its findings and recommendations, and in the final report I suggested that this type of government inquiry raises fundamental questions which should be seriously considered by the Congr and the American people.

Those who have not the time nor i inclination to delve into the volumino reports of the second Hoover Commi sion will find in this book by two fo mer employees a compact exposition Mr. Hoover's guiding philosophy a of the Commission majority repo Readers should not be misled into b lieving, however, that this book is serious analytical study of the Hoov Commission's work; rather it falls in the category of promotional literatu much favored by the Citizens Committ for the Hoover Report. Both authors a associated (Mr. Metz as Research Dirc tor and Mr. MacNeil as Editorial Co sultant) with the Citizens Committee.

The Hoover Commission is uniq among temporary government bodies i having a privately-financed lobbying o ganization to keep its labors (and M Hoover's name) constantly before th public. Ostensibly the Hoover Comm sion was established to give expert a vice to the Congress and the Presiden Apparently Mr. Hoover wanted to mak sure that this advice would be heede The authors credit him with establishin the Citizens Committee to generate pul lic sentiment for the findings and recon mendations of the Hoover Commissio Despite the fact that the Citizens Com mittee is actively engaged in attemptin to influence legislation, it is not regis tered under the lobbying law and i exempt from Federal income taxes.

Perhaps the overstatement of the yea is the authors' assertion that the Hoove Commission reports "represent, in fac the most thorough and objective exam ination of the work of our Federal sys tem since the founding of the Republic." The Commission reports fall far short o meeting the test of either thoroughnes or objectivity. Frequently I was appalle by the slipshod character of the fact finding and by the intrusion of occupa tional or professional self-interest. Area of inquiry deemed important by Mr Hoover were farmed out to so-calle task forces or "little Hoover Commis sions," selected and organized by Mr Hoover himself, usually consisting o prominent business or professional me decidedly in sympathy with his politica and social philosophy.

To cite a few examples: the task forc doctors, studying government medica services, wanted to reduce such service

Boiling Eggs

My waking hunger wants its hourglass
Turned upside down to clock my boiling eggs.
Bobbing about, they've lost their sea legs,
And though no theorem of Pythagoras,
Prove, by that stately 8,
That even early birds can be too late,
For appetite requires that these yet unborn
Chicks give up the ghost this wintry morn.

One more minute now. How I regret (poor chicks!)
To take them out of Nature so that I may dine.
Theirs is a fate that my arithmetic's
Not wholly to be blamed for—the Great Design,
Mother Nature, not my clock,
Prescribes for hens the ardor of the cock—
Some learn, from experience, how one good egg
Can scramble up a lifetime. Were I to renege,

Ponder still their ends: cock or hen,
(Or worse, a capon), at the finish line
Meets a grisly doom. Who's to say when
They'd vanish dimly down the throats of men?
The end cannot be breached:
For whether eggs are coddled, baked, or poached,
Or Benedict, or fried, or served Foo Yung,
They make a tasty morsel for the tongue.

They're done. I put them in a tablespoon,
One by one, beneath the water tap
To cool, and when I break the lime cocoon,
The membrane curls away, a tattered map.
Mingled in a cup,
Buttered, salted, peppered, I scoop them up,
Who are not what they were. Now they're uncased,
I cannot tell a lie: I like the taste.

The hourglass, standing on my pantry shelf,
Immune to both my hunger and their state,
Diurnally is fated to reverse itself
And time two boiling eggs at the exact same rate.
Satiety can't last:
The ultimate in feasts leads to a new repast—
Tomorrow when my hourglass is turned about,
Appetite will dine again, and time run out.

HOWARD MOSS

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d the number of beneficiaries entitled them. The task force lawyers, studyg government legal services, wanted to rn the administrative agencies into urts and to formalize the legal mainery. The task force engineers, studyg water works and resource developnt, wanted an engineering board to een all projects coming before the ngress. The task force bankers and sinessmen, studying the lending funcns and other business-type operations the government, wanted the governnt to withdraw in favor of private terprise.

This is not to say that the recommendons of the Hoover Commission were negative. In numerous instances I scribed to recommendations for imoved government operation when I sidered that these were within the mmission's legislative mandate and not strike at the heart of national licies important to the nation's welre.

The unwary reader will get no inkling this book of the critical issues and ferences of judgment posed by disting commissioners' reports. Therefe, I doubt that a perusal of the book ne will contribute to greater public derstanding of our Federal government. On the contrary, by its bland reiteration of quite unsupportable task force estimates of dollar savings to be derived from adoption of various recommendations, by its *post facto* rationalization of diversified and sometimes disorganized inquiries, by its primitive *laissez faire* preconceptions, by its vast oversimplification, and by its depiction of the Federal government as a morass of waste and confusion, the book may serve to create or spread misunderstanding.

The Eisenhower Administration should take note of the authors' rendition, in a concluding chapter, of the Hoover Commission verdict on the state of the Federal government today:

> In almost infinite detail these studies present a documented picture of a sprawling and voracious bureaucracy, of monumental waste, excesses and extravagances, of red tape, confusion, and disheartening frustrations, of loose management, regulatory irresponsibilities, and colossal largesse to special segments of the public, of enormous incompetence in foreign economic operations, and of huge appropriations frequently spent for purposes never intended by the Congress. It is not a pretty picture no matter how you view it.

The Man who Read Kant in the Bathtub

by Delmore Schwartz

ONE of T. E. Hulme's writings had attracted much attention when at 34 he was killed on the Western nt in 1917. But his personality and versation made him seem, to the nds of his generation, to have the mise of philosophical genius. These nds were responsible for the publion in 1924 of *Speculations*, the only ection of his work prior to the ent one. And the one-sided charac- of the writings in that first volume ibined with the authoritarian symies some of his friends felt long r his death to make Hulme's rekable posthumous fame chiefly that a "proto-Fascist." Hynes' new and far more comprehensive selections include reviews of current philosophical trends, essays on language and art, and five pieces written under a pseudonym defending Britain's cause in the First World War; and on each of these subjects the extent to which Hulme has been misunderstood becomes clear and, what is more, the origin of the misinterpretation becomes evident.

Mr. Hynes (a member of the English faculty at Swarthmore) combats the prevailing view of Hulme weakly in his otherwise valuable introduction when he says that Hulme was "a reactionary and reaction does not necessarily mean Fascism." The pieces here which attack the pacifism of Bertrand Russell during the First World War are perhaps the best illustration of how far Hulme was from any kind of neo-scholasticism or authoritarianism. Hulme based his defense of Britain's cause chiefly on his belief that a German victory would mean the abolition of the rights of the individual. The pacifists and liberals of the period invoked a liberty they did not recognize and hence refused to fight for, because they lacked what Hulme called his "profoundly different conception of democracy," a conception based upon a view of mankind which regarded discipline and defense as necessary to maintain any degree of democracy when it existed.

THOUGH Hulme may have been wrong to identify imperial Germany and Prussianism, he was wrong only in being one war ahead of Russell and the pacifism universal at the time among intellectuals; and his arguments, written in the trenches, indicate, if anything can, how he would have regarded Nazism, how little illusion he had about military glory, and how, when he called himself a militarist, it was in opposition to pacifism. So, too, when he said that he was anti-liberal, anti-romantic and, most misleading of all, affirmed his belief in Original Sin, these labels were adopted in opposition to the 19th Century views which still prevailed in intellectual circles of the time—such as the belief that science would solve all problems, and the unrealistic optimism about human nature which made totalitarianism seem inconceivable among civilized nations, instead of a very real threat.

One conversational remark quoted by Mr. Hynes is an epitome of the quality of Hulme's mind, the statement that "his finest pleasure in life was to read Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* . . . in a tub of hot water." The same quality of mind and temperament shows itself, as nothing in the first volume of *Speculations* did, in Hulme's hilarious and profound account of a philosophical congress in Bologna in 1912. En route, he visited Bergson, who said that though he doubted the value of such conventions at times, yet

> . . . sometimes when you have been puzzled by a man's philosophy . . . the actual physical presence of the man makes it all clear. And sometimes, as William James used to say, one look at a man is enough to convince you that you need trouble no further.

It was in that frame of mind, Hulme continued, that he arrived in Bologna

ther Speculations, by T. E. Hulme, dited with an introduction by Sam Iynes. (Minnesota; $4.50).

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only to find himself in a "frightful dilemma." The opening address of the congress, a paper on Reality by a Professor Enriques, was about to be given, but a great parade of troops in red hats and civilians in togas, bearing banners in honor of "Filosofia," was beginning in the streets of Bologna. "To my lasting regret . . . I left the real world and entered that of Reality."

The character of Hulme's influence, the Socratic example of an independence of mind which gave his friends the strength to rebel against conventional opinion, is equally evident throughout the book and in the biographical information Mr. Hynes has provided. The same conclusion is supported by forgetting the authoritarian sympathies of such a close friend as Ezra Pound 20 years after Hulme's death and reading the passage in Pound's "Cantos" which describes what Hulme meant to him:

> And ole T. E. H. went to it, [to war]
> With a lot of books from the library,
> London Library, and a shell buried 'em in a dug out
> And the Library expressed its annoyance.
> And a bullet hit him on the elbow
> . . . And he read Kant in the Hospital in Wimbledon, in the original,
> And the hospital staff didn't like it.

The man who thought reading Kant in the bathtub, the trenches or elsewhere the finest pleasure in life was clearly not sufficiently inclined to any variety of conformism to be an advocate of any kind of totalitarianism.

Stephen Wise's Humanity

by Harold Weisberg

A MAN with some claim to fame and a goodly store of ego will surely realize early enough in life that eventually someone will go poking about the ruins of his past, looking over his shoulder and under his shroud. There is good reason to suspect that a fair share of private confession and correspondence is written for "the record"; nor should one be disposed to think that men are given to role-playing everywhere but at their writing-tables. As for the literary quality of letters as such there is room for considerable disagreement, but certainly there is no iron law of literary necessity or absolute of memorial piety which compels the publication of any public man's private work.

The Personal Letters of Stephen Wise, edited by Justine Wise Polier and James Waterman Wise with an introduction by John Haynes Holmes (Beacon; $4.50).

It is with such doubts that I approach many collections of letters and even, in the present instance, when I desire to wish them away they are sometimes aggravated when Mr. Holmes informs us in his introduction that we will be given an insight into the "inward" aspects of Stephen Wise—a man of "dual character." Certainly Rabbi Wise was tender, loving, kind and gentle but no more so —it appears from these letters—than most decent men. His uniqueness remains for me his great moral courage, his profound sense of crisis and drama, his ability to rise to the most demanding situations and his magnificent capacity for exciting leadership. These qualities come shining through the letters while the "other" Wise is much less than extraordinary.

But perhaps I am quibbling and asking too much. Yet I am disappointed in other ways as well. We are assured by the editors that this material represents only a "tiny fraction" of what is available and are promised more, but I think this man deserved a better first selection. Some issues on which we would like clarification and which are touched on in Wise's autobiography—the tussle with Temple Emanuel, the founding of the Free Synagogue, and the establishment of the Jewish Institute of Religion —are only briefly mentioned and sometimes only in passing. If the latter letters to the future Mrs. Wise are intended as examples of what Mr. Holmes thinks will have "a place in the love literature of our time" then they are poorly chosen. Stephen Wise was a great lover of humanity but he does not seem to have been one of humanity's great lovers. I also would have wished mo letters dealing with Wise's views of su as Abba Hillel Silver, the Zionist Orga ization of America, the status of Refo Judaism, other religious groupings American Jewry and the founding of t American Jewish Congress. Perha there is no such material available, b without it a good part of the importa events in Wise's career is missing.

The portrait which emerges fro these letters is of a man possessed genuine prophetic zeal. Though W may have lacked political and philos phical sophistication, which gives touch of what is today termed "inn cence" to his various activities a which, no doubt, accounts for some the questionable political actions he u dertook, these shortcomings—if they a that—were sources of great strength e abling Wise to move forward with deep sense of righteousness.

Two things stand out about the m and wear especially well in these da The first, his combination of Zionis and a broad humanitarianism, the se ond, his concern for institutionalizatio In the former instance he showed that love of Zion need not diminish a lo for all of mankind. Too many of h colleagues had maintained broad a general humanitarianism in oppositic to Zionism. Wise could not abide thi In the latter case he did not just prea about the improvement of moral cap cities, as so many of our contemporari are wont to do, but he sought politic and institutional changes to effect it. I did not create any theological system b he did build religious institutions develop significant religious conduct. this be "liberal innocence" and the fai ure to comprehend the complexities allegedly sinful man, then so be it, b perhaps it is time that we recovered, least a bit, of that "innocence" whi joined theory and practice, idea and i stitution, man and society.

Notes on Contributors

IRVING HOWE is completing a book c the political novel. JAMES T. FARRELL latest book is *French Girls are Viciou* CHET HOLIFIELD is a Democratic Co gressman from California. HOWAR MOSS is the poetry editor of *The Ne Yorker*. HAROLD WEISBERG is direct of adult education for B'nai B'rith.

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

r. Areas where Negroes could live re listed. Negroes who quit their bs were made liable to arrest. Fines re established for Negroes who possed firearms, who made "seditious" eeches, or "insulting" gestures or acts. In the 1870's, aided by those preously disfranchised, whites regained ntrol of the Southern state governents, and in all the Southern states alifications were passed to legally prent the voting of those Negroes who d not been deterred by threats or rce. For example, in 1874, Alabama mocrats made "White Supremacy" eir voting slogan, and, in 1875, Virnia made petty larceny—the stealing chickens—ground for voting disalification. In 1877 all federal troops re withdrawn from the South, and egro voting was inconsequential by '79.

E. J. CASTELLANO
ooklyn, New York

Stevenson vs. Kefauver

s:

I find it difficult to understand why me liberals are supporting Kefauver hopes that he will work vigorously to d segregation in schools and in other nases of life. In a speech in Tallassee on May 4, he said that he reded the Supreme Court decision on segregation as the law of the land. owever, when asked whether he would e federal law-enforcement agencies to force this law, he said that he would t. . . . If, as a recent correspondent *The New Republic* wrote, Stevenson a Democratic Dewey, then Kefauver is rtainly a Democratic Eisenhower.

JOHN BOARDMAN
llahassee, Florida

". . . just a refined Dixiecrat"

Just a few more comments on Adlai evenson to give the cocktail party ggheads" nervous stomachs.

1. He's no liberal and never was. The ct that Senator Ellender is for him is conclusive proof that on the segregation issue, he's just a refined Dixiecrat.

2. On farm policy, public power, foreign policy, etc., he's basically the same as Eisenhower, except people vote for Eisenhower.

3. He's not above suspicion. After all Adlai had his slush fund in Illinois when he was Governor. Why not mention that occasionally along with comments on "Tricky Dicky."

If the Democratic Party has become the party of "moderation," whatever that means, and nominates a "Me Too Ike" Democrat such as Adlai, it deserves defeat and it will get it.

JAMES E. DUREE
Raymond, Washington

". . . Stevenson's only mistake"

Governor Stevenson's only mistake is in assuming that we are all reasonably intelligent and literate beings—and God bless him for it!

ANNETTE COMSTOCK
Middletown, California

". . . our amiable hero"

If Estes Kefauver finds coolness among both Republican and even Democratic Congressmen, Senators, Governors and party leaders both national and state, no doubt the fault is 100 percent theirs, but nevertheless, how is he going to get anything accomplished? How does he get along with the committee heads, who can bottle-up legislation a President badly needs? Of 16 Congressional standing committees, nine are headed by Southern conservative Democrats whom our amiable hero has clumsily, needlessly offended.

HOWARD CRISWELL
Long Beach, California

". . . we're not playing with fire"

His own colleagues in the Senate by and large distrust and dislike Kefauver; they feel he shuns the hard, unglamorous back-room conference work where the laws are shaped, that he talks to his colleagues but doesn't listen to them and that his choice of associates is poor. Adlai Stevenson had to work with a Republican Senate and a narrowly Democratic House in Illinois, yet in spite of that, progress under him was phenomenal. He cleaned out graft, raised the status of mental hospitals and public schools from among the lowest-rating to among the highest rating in the nation, and he took the State Police out of politics, putting it under Civil Service.

If we can just get this man nominated and then back him up, we'll have a President in the White House who knows what is going on in the world, who makes his own decisions based on his own knowledge, who will appoint the kind of cabinet officers our nation deserves. . . . We haven't got that now and we're not playing with fire; we're playing with hydrogen bombs.

M. G. STILES
Hollywood, California

". . . one should look at the record"

It seems to me you miss the point entirely when you try to explain why people prefer Kefauver to Stevenson at this time. I believe one should look at the record. From the very beginning of Stevenson's campaign in '52 he seemed unable to make a definite decision on such things as Taft-Hartley, the farm problem, segregation, etc. Kefauver has shown that he has strong convictions, is courageous enough to vote for them. You give no credit to him for his voting record, but lead people to believe he makes statements that will appeal to particular voters. . . . I think Stevenson is a wonderful person and would make a good President, but I think there are many good men in the Democratic Party who would make excellent Presidents. That is the strength of the Democratic Party as opposed to the Republican Party. If it is shown in the primaries that Senator Kefauver is the choice of the people, I believe the Democratic Party will hand the election to the Republicans if they do not give him a fair chance to be nominated at the Convention.

LILLIAN DURDALL
Berkeley, Cal.

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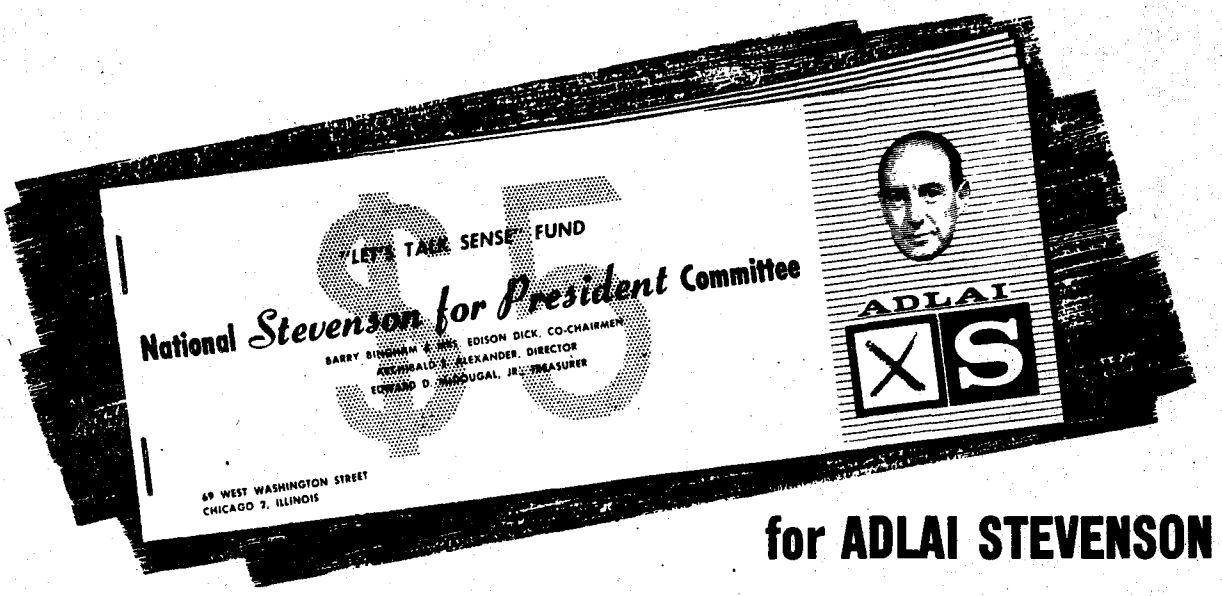

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